Donna Jo Napoli

### A Global Agreement Phenomenon\*

### o. Introduction

agreement on it must be global.1 one such adverb, svella, and show that the rules accounting for gender/number There are a handful of adverbs in Italian that undergo gender/number agreement with NPs in very particular environments. In this article I will discuss the syntax of

# 1. Classification of Relevant Adjectives and Adverbs

consider those VP adverbs that have adjectives sharing the same root. Various kinds of adjectives and adverbs appear to the right of the verb. Here I will

### I.I. -Mente Adverbs

gender/number agreement): ADJECTIVE (f.s.) 2 + mente. Adverbs of this form are invariable (they never undergo The most common morphology for VP adverbs with corresponding adjectives is

Maria ha rapidamente imparato l'italiano.

'Mary (has) rapidly learned Italian.

Rapidamente is composed of rapida (f.s.) + mente.

\* This work was supported in part by the National Science Foundation's grant to Harvard University (GS-33263X). A longer preliminary version of the article appears in Napoli (1974). In that longer work many facts not crucial to the arguments for globality are presented and discussed with details of dialectal variation. I would like to thank Dave Perlmutter as well for the countless hours, suggestions, and criticisms he

contributed to this article. The very fact that it exists as something other than a confused puzzle is due to him. Thanks also go to Avery Andrews, Giulio Lepschy, Richie Kayne, and Susumu Kuno, as well as to my anonymous LI readers for comments made on various drafts of this article. And a final thanks go to my informants for their inlinite bazienza.

<sup>1</sup> By global rule, I mean one that takes into account information supplied by more than one distinct structure in the derivation. For a discussion of global rules, see Lakoff (1969, 1970) and Postal (1972), among others. For a discussion of various proposals for global rules with respect to agreement phenomena, see Napoli (1974).

<sup>2</sup> The abbreviations used in this article are: f.s. = feminine singular, m.s. = masculine singular, f.p. =

feminine plural, m.p. = masculine plural, unmk. = unmarked.

# 1.2. Invariable Non-mente Adverbs

ADJECTIVE (unmk.). Most adverbs of this form are invariable (they never undergo A smaller class of VP adverbs with corresponding adjectives has the morphology gender/number agreement):

Le ragazze hanno cantato l'inno forte. unmk.

'The girls sang the hymn loudly.'

### 1.3. Adjectives

of the verb. These adjectives always undergo gender/number agreement with the NP they modify: Certain adjectives 4 modifying the subject of the clause appear somewhere to the right

França ha traversato il corridoio scalza

'Franca crossed the hall barefoot.'

## 1.4. The Category Advective

gender/number agreement in certain environments. Which adverbs fall into this class given the proper lexical items. One of the adverbs in this class is svelto examples given in section 3, the pattern presented there can be found in most idiolects economic factors. 5 While only a small number of Italians will agree with the particular A few adverbs with corresponding adjectives have the morphology ADJECTIVE varies from speaker to speaker and does not seem to depend on geographic or socio-(unmk.), but unlike other non-mente adverbs (cf. section 1.2 above), they undergo

Maria parla svelta/svelto

'Mary speaks fast.'

of adjectives, they will be called Advectives, or As, from here on. Since words such as suelto have some characteristics of adverbs and some characteristics

advectives as opposed to that of ordinary adjectives (cf. section 1.3), which obligatorily agree in all environments. The purpose of this article is to account for the complex agreement pattern of

<sup>3</sup> Masculine singular is the unmarked ending in Italian.
<sup>4</sup> Most of these adjectives are distinct from adjectives that appear in an NP in surface structure in that they seem to have a dual function. They modify an NP and at the same time they loosely modify the VP in a way similar to manner adverbs. For this article, the syntactic history of these adjectives need not be examined.
<sup>5</sup> Recent studies in variation have offered other examples of variation not dependent upon social or geographic factors (cf. Carden 1973, among others).

# 2. Semantic Considerations

semantic distinction between (1a) and (1b): When we consider (1) below, the question immediately arises as to whether there

- Maria parla svelta
- Maria parla svelto.

is, there is no colloquial adverb \*sveltamente). speaker has. As far as I know, no speaker has a mente adverb with svelte as its root (the To answer this question, it is necessary to know how many lexical items svelto a giv

never undergoes agreement. For these speakers (1a) is unacceptable while (1b) acceptable. The reading for (1b) for most such speakers is (2): However, many speakers have a non-mente adverb svelto (as in section 1.2) the

'Mary speaks in such a way that her words come out in quick succession (i.e. 'Mary speaks fast.')

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The reading for (1a) for most such speakers is (2), given above. undergoes agreement. For these speakers (1a) is acceptable while (1b) is unacceptable Many other speakers have an adjective svelto (as in section 1.3) that obligatori

given in (2), while (1b) has the reading given in (3): both (1a) and (1b) are acceptable, but with different readings. (1a) has the readin obligatorily agrees, and  $\mathit{snelto}_{2}$ , which is an adverb and never agrees. For these speake Some speakers have two distinct lexical items: welto, which is an adjective ar

3 'Mary speaks in such a way that the length of time she talks is short.' (i. 'Mary speaks briefly.')

These speakers find acceptable both sentences in (4) with the readings given there:

- (4) a. Maria ha parlato svelta.
- 'Mary spoke with her words coming out rapidly.' (as in (2) above)
- Maria ha parlato svelto.
- 'Mary spoke in a brief period of time.' (as in (3) above

semantically equivalent, with the reading given in (2). Consider (5) and (6): speakers also have an adverb svelto. For them both (1a) and (1b) are acceptable and which has the complex agreement pattern described in section 3 below. Many of thes Finally, the speakers I am concerned with in this article have an advective swelle

While most speakers assign stello discretely to the category Adjective, Adverb, or Advective, these classifications are not always perfectly discrete. For examples of "overlap" see Napoli (1974). Also, for an extended discussion of the semantics of stello, see (Napoli (1974)).

And while the behavior of stello differs greatly in the speech of the various Italians I have questioned, I have questioned, I have questioned.

am convinced that the category Advective exists for most Italians. If you are a speaker of Italian and find that swile's behavior with respect to gender/number agreement does not require global rules in your speech, then I ask you to test out the behavior of leste, leste, selee, also, basse, salate, care, and lestene to see if any of them behave

(5) Maria parla svelta/svelto, anche se ci vogliono due ore ogni volta che si apre la bocca.

'Mary speaks fast, even if it takes two hours every time she opens her mouth.' Maria parla così svelta/svelto che è difficile distinguere tutte le sue parole. 'Mary speaks so fast that it is hard to distinguish all her words.'

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For these speakers (5) and (6) are acceptable with and without gender/number agreement on swello. These data may be contrasted with the case of speakers who have two swello's, one an adjective and one an adverb, and who require gender/number agreement on swello in both (5) and (6), since they make a semantic distinction between their adjective swello and their adverb swello. Another contrast between these two sets of speakers is that the speakers who have an advective swello do not accept (4a); they do accept (4b), but with the reading given in (4a') (and not with the reading given in (4b')). The reason the two groups of speakers differ in accepting (1) and (4) is that (1) contains a simple verb form and (4) a compound verb construction. Any successful analysis of this agreement phenomenon will have to account for this strange behavior. In section 3.1.3 I will propose a rule of agreement for advectives that will account for these facts. The agreement pattern given in section 3 below offers many contrasts between the speakers who have an advective and perhaps an adverb swello and those who have an adjective and an adverb swello.

In conclusion, for the advective svelte, there is no semantic difference between

(1a) and (1b)

### 3. The Rules

In this section we shall see that one rule can account for all cases in which gender/number agreement may optionally occur and all cases in which gender/number agreement must not occur. This rule is shown to be postcyclic and global. A separate principle operating in Italian agreement rules accounts for all cases of obligatory agreement. This principle is needed independently of any considerations of svelto.

3.1. A Gender Number Agreement Rule for svelto (G/N svelto)

3.1.1. Not Cyclic. There is ample evidence that a rule of gender/number agreement operating cyclically is not empirically adequate. (I will call this rule G/N svelto.)

In sentences where sveliv's subject has been removed by subject to subject Raising or by Equi NP Deletion between subjects, no gender/number agreement may occur on sveliv:

 (7) a. Maria sembra parlare \*svelta/svelto. f.s. unmk.

'Mary seems to speak fast.'
Maria vuole parlare \*svelta/svelto

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Consider the derivation of these sentences

(8) so[s<sub>1</sub>[Maria parlare svelt-]s<sub>1</sub> sembrare]s<sub>0</sub>

(9) s<sub>0</sub>[Maria volere s<sub>1</sub>[Maria parlare svelt-]s<sub>1</sub>]s<sub>0</sub>

If gender/number agreement of svelto is cyclic, on S<sub>1</sub> both (8) and (9) will optional agreement as in (1). Yet in surface structure no agreement appears in (7). Thus the rule producing optional agreement on svelto cannot be cyclic.

3.1.2. Not a Simple Postcyclic Rule. There is also evidence that a postcyclic forn of G/N svello that does not have access to information present earlier in the decannot work.

Contrast (10) with (11):

- (10) Comandiamo a Maria di parlare svelta/svelto/\*svelti.
  m.p. f.s. f.s. unmk. m.p.
  'We command Mary to speak fast.'
- (11) Promettiamo a Maria di parlare \*svclta/svelto/\*svelti.
  m.p. f.s. f.s. unmk, m.p.
  'We promise Mary to speak fast.'

(10) and (11) are structurally identical sentences in the postcycle, yet agreem occur in (10) but not in (11). A postcyclic rule could not distinguish between (1 (11), and thus G/N svelto should operate the same way in both sentence types a postcyclic rule. However, it does not. Therefore, G/N svelto cannot be a postcyclic rule.

3.1.3. Postcyclic and Global. The possibility of gender/number agreement or depends upon where its "controller" appears at the point when agreement a Svella's controller is usually its cyclic subject. However, in an S where svella's

Thy the cyclic subject of notin, I mean the NP that is the subject of notin applying to notin. This notion is the same as that of Andrews (1971). Andrews has shown that in Ancie case agreement between NPs and predicate modifies takes into account the subject of the predicate the end of the first cycle applying to that predicate. Andrews needs to refer to the subject at the end of of the first cycle applying to that predicate. Andrews needs to refer to the subject at the end of a derived cyclic subject, and it is with that derived cyclic subject position can give the predicate Since in Italian such and other advertises can examine that the predicate modifier agrees.

Since in Italian suits and other advectives can never appear in a clause whose surface subject to it identical to the underlying subject (cf. Napoli 1974), suits's cyclic subject all through the applying to scale is consistently the same NP. Thus, I need not refer to suits's subject all through the However, none of the data I know of are in conflict with saying that the relevant point for the defin suite's cyclic subject is at the end of the first cycle applying to suits. Thus, by using Andrews's notion subject, one principle can be appeared to in both the Greek and Italian cases. For this reason, I Andrews's notion of cyclic subject rather than a distinct and less powerful one.

However, note that if it were possible to define cyclic subject as the subject at the beginning of cycle, then a global rule referring to the cyclic subject of some other element would be appealing to info present in the deep structure. Since deep structure is argued to be a significant level of structure for various inguistic phenomena (such as semantic interpretation), this situation would be preferable to a global refers to some structure other than the deep structure. For the Italian data we see that it would be post Icelandic, and Crow, such a definition would fail. Thus, all theoretical issues aside, Andrews's definition subject is assumed to be the proper one.

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In conclusion, for the advective *svelto*, there is no semantic difference between (1a) and (1b).

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deletion of suelto's subject is suelto's controller. If this NP is subsequently deleted under subject has been deleted under identity with some other NP, the NP that controls the subject. Furthermore, if svelto's cyclic subject has been deleted, the rule must be able must be able to look back to the first cycle svelte appears in to determine svelte's cyclic notion "controller" is, therefore, global. That is, any rule that makes use of this notion identity with some other NP, the other NP is then svello's controller, and so on. 8 The to determine which NP controlled that deletion, etc.

surface structure due to Subject Pronoun Drop). This controller appears to the left verb, separated from the verb by the complementizer di. In (11), however, the conand (II) is the position of svelto's controller. Svelto can agree only with its controller. complementizer intervene, svelto cannot agree. and verb, agreement is optional. But in (11), where a verb and an NP as well as a of svello's verb with elements intervening, including a verb (promettiano) and an NP troller of suelto is noi 'we', the subject of the matrix verb (which does not appear in In (10) the controller of svelto is Maria. This controller appears to the left of svelto's (Maria). In (10), where only a complementizer intervenes between svello's controller With this notion of controller, we can see that the crucial difference between (10)

cycle). Thus the rule for G/N agreement on *svelto* is global, in that it applies during the control swelto agreement at the time the agreement rule applies (that is, in the postpostcycle but makes use of the global notion "controller" The requirement for agreement, then, is that svelto's controller be in a position to

A possible formulation of G/N svelta is seen in (12):9,10

						(12)
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	ю	2	[ ď∓]	H (	(NP)	G/N spelto (
	కు	ယ			ЮMP)	(option
	4	4			4	ıal, p
	5	បា			(ADV)	ostcyclic
d	6 7	0 7	·	,	A	جُ(
		1				

<sup>10</sup> Other advectives include the italicized words in the examples below: This definition of controller is the same as that given in Andrews (1973).
 The theoretical issues arising in the formulation of this condition are discussed in Napoli (1974).

NP is the A's controller. null, 5 is an adverb or null. The circles around NP and A mean that where 1 and 7 are variables, 6 is an advective, 3 is a complementize

NPVA is interrupted only by adverbs and/or complementizers, or where this sequ (12) says that agreement will optionally occur in all those cases where the sequ

3.1.4. Facts Accounted for by G/N svelto. All cases of optional G/N agreement and is uninterrupted. 11

cases in which agreement may not occur are accounted for by rule (12). Thus, this rule accounts for the following instances of optional agreement:

## Environment: NP V A

'Mary was speaking fast.' Maria parlava svelta/svelto.

Ho sentito Maria parlare svelta/svelto.

'I heard Mary speak fast.'

'I said that Mary spoke fast.' Ho detto che Maria parlava svelta/svelto

Ho voluto che Maria parlasse svelta/svelto. 'I wanted Mary to speak fast.'

Maria parla svelta/svelto ma/e/o chiaramente. 'Mary speaks fast but/and/or clearly.'

Environment: NP V ADV A

Maria parla chiaramente ma svelta/svelto

'Mary speaks clearly but fast.'

Maria parla chiaro ma svelta/svelto. 'Mary speaks clear but fast.'

agreement with swelle cannot take place: Ξ Ho pregato Maria di parlare svelta/svelto.

11 The rule G/N swelto predicts that if Maria in (1) below becomes a derived subject by way of Passive, t

'I begged Mary to speak fast.' unmk

However, we find that agreement with wello in such sentences must take place:

 $\widehat{\mathbf{E}}$ Maria è stata pregata di parlare sveita/\*sveito. f.s. f.s. f.s. unmk.

'Mary was begged to speak fast.'

Luis fact, however, does not offer evidence against the postcyclicity of G/N suite. Rather, the obligatory agr ment here is the result of Sympathetic Agreement, described in section 3.2.2 below.

 $<sup>\</sup>mathfrak{S}$ Maria cammina lesto/lesto/lento/lento 'Mary walks fast/slow

 $<sup>\</sup>Xi$ Gli anni passano veloce/veloci. 'The years past fast.'

<sup>(</sup>E) La rondine vola alte/alta/basse/bassa

<sup>3</sup> L'auto costa caro[cara]salato[salata 'The swallow flies high/low.'

<sup>&#</sup>x27;The car costs a lot.'

<sup>3</sup> Gli uomini vanno lontano/lontani The men are going far away.

(I.5) 'I beg Mary to speak fast.' Prego Maria di parlare svelta/svelto. Environment: NP COMP V A Costringo Maria a parlare svelta/svelto 'I command Mary to speak fast.' Comando a Maria di parlare svelta/svelto. 'I force Mary to speak fast.'

is accounted for in the following examples. (If G/N svelto applies before these rules in Verb Inversion, Topicalization, and Adverb Fronting, then gender/number agreement after these rules in these examples, then no agreement is produced.) 12,13 the following examples, then agreement is produced optionally. If G/N suelto applies If G/N svelto is unordered with respect to Relative Clause Formation, Subject-

Relative Clause 'The woman who I wanted to speak fast entered.' 'The woman who speaks fast entered.' La donna che volevo che parlasse svelta/svelto entrò La donna che parla svelta/svelto entrò

Che cosa recita svelta/svelto Maria? Parla svelta/svelto Maria? 'What does Mary recite fast?' Subject-Verb Inversion 'Does Mary speak fast?'

Maria voglio che parli svelta/svelto. 'Mary I want to speak fast.' Topicalization

<sup>18</sup> In a sentence where relative clause movement had moved the NP up two Ss, some of my speakers were influenced by what followed swile. For example, the swile (f.s.) choice is slightly more preferred in (i) than in (ii), where suelto is preferred.

La donna che volevo che parlasse svelta/svelto è bella 'The woman who I wanted to speak fast is beautiful.'

La donna che volevo che parlasse svelta/svelto entro

Ξ

"The woman who I wanted to speak fast entered."

Also, I found that for some speakers who assigned wello to the always agreeing ADJ class that wello without

The influencing force in (i) is the G/N agreement on bella, which reminds the speaker that the subject of soul-

These facts lead one to suspect that some very late (perhaps surface) filter is operating. However, I found so few speakers who noticed the distinctions mentioned here that I hesitate to go any further with this speculation.

10 There are two kinds of relativizers in Italian, the and it quals. The examples in (16) involve only the interest of the control of the co agreement is not only acceptable in (ii) but also preferred. For the facts on il quale relatives, see Napoli (1974).

> ?Svelta/svelto Maria parla. 'Fast Mary speaks.' Svelta/svelto parla Maria. 'Fast speaks Mary.' Adverb Fronting

ordering G/N svelto with respect to them.14 before them. But since all four of these rules are postcyclic, there is no probl formations were cyclic, there would be a problem in allowing G/N swell I have already argued that G/N svelto applies postcyclically. If the above

number agreement on svelte may not occur:15 The rule seen in (12) also accounts for the following instances in whic

(17) a. Environment: NP V V A

Maria {comincia a } parlare \*svelta/svelto. (spera di deve nust

'Mary {begins to } speak fast.' (hopes to

Maria avrebbe parlato \*svelta/svelto.

۵ 'Mary would have spoken fast.' Environment: NP V V V A

'Maria was able to run fast.' Maria ha potuto correre \*svelta/svelto. 'Mary seems to be able to run fast.' Maria sembra potere correre \*svelta/svelto.

Environment: (NP) V NP V(A)'I made Mary speak fast.'

Ho fatto parlare ?\*svelta/svelto Maria

δ

Ö

Environment: V A NP

'We promise Mary to speak fast.' Promettiamo a Maria di parlare \*svelti/svelto.

<sup>14</sup> That Relative Clause Formation and Wh Movement are postcyclic rules is argued for in Kacoming) for French. Most of the arguments presented there can be reproduced for Italian. Since it is too of Wh Movement that triggers Subject-Verb Inversion in a sentence such as Che com reita sudials. What does Mary recite fast?, we see that Subject-Verb Inversion must be postcyclic as long as Wh.

svelta/svelte cannot be preposed in (i) and (ii): Topicalization and Adverb Fronting are root transformations in Italian, as seen in the fact that

(i) \*Ha detto che Maria volevano che venisse.
'He said that Mary they wanted to come.' (ii) \*Ha detto che svelta/svelto parla Maria.

He said that fast speaks Mary.

<sup>18</sup> I am including auxiliaries in the category Verb here. However, if one wishes to maintai category of Aux, then all the examples with auxiliaries here need to be placed under a separate he as "Bavironment: NP Aux V A".

alternative is discussed in footnote 22 below.16 ment just as the presence of a main verb does. There is another possible explanation for the behavior of svelto agreement in the presence of auxiliaries, however, and this Note that in (17a) I am claiming that the presence of an auxiliary verb blocks agree-

# 3.2. The Principle Accounting for Obligatory Agreement of svelto

show that there is a principle needed independently of svelto that will account for all or may not agree. However, there are instances in which svelto must agree. First I will is global. 17 cases of obligatory agreement. Finally, I will show that the statement of this principle The rule of G/N svelto accounts only for those cases in which svelto optionally agrees

<sup>18</sup> In all the cases in the text wella agreement does not interact crucially with any postcyclic rules. However, there are at least two apparent exceptions. G/N nello must be prevented from applying until after Imperative and Clitic Placement to account for the lack of agreement in the following sentences:

- (Maria,) parla \*svelta/svelto!
- Ξ La prego di parlare \*svelta/svelto. '(Mary,) speak fast!

La sento parlare \*svelta/svelto. 'I beg her to speak fast.' her I beg to speak unmk.

'I hear her speak fast.' her I hear speak

Note that the fact that suelts's controller is not really Maria but "you" in the imperative example does not account for the lack of agreement there, since suelts can optionally agree with second person subjects in sentences such as  $\ddot{\mathbb{B}}$ 

Œ Maria, parli troppo svelto/svelta 'Mary, you're speaking too fast.'

However, for both of these rules I found speakers who allowed G/N stello to apply before or after them (that is, who did not require ordering), although the majority ordered G/N stello after them. Thus I found speakers who accepted stella and stello in (i) and (ii) as well as in cases where even more elements intervene between the controller and swelte:

3 Le ho comandato di parlare svelta/svelto. unink.

"I ordered her to speak fast."

(Note that agreement is unacceptable for most speakers in (iv).) Since both Imperative (being a root transformation) and Clitic Placement (see Kayne (forthcoming)) are noncyclic rules, there is no problem in ordering G/N sullo before or after either of these rules.

grounds since (v) is acceptable: Also note that agreement cannot be excluded from imperatives (for those who exclude it) on semantic

€ (Maria,) sii svelta nel parlare!

'(Mary,) be fast in talking!

17 In order to understand many of the examples with obligatory sveliv agreement below, an understanding

of past participle agreement is essential.

There are two basic rules for past participle agreement in Italian.

1. Past participles agree with the subject when the auxiliary is exert 'be'

Maria è andata via.

'Mary went away.'

3.2.1. Factors Affecting Obligatory Agreement. Consider the following senter

(18) a. Maria è corsa svelta/\*svelto.

'Mary ran fast.' S f.s. unmk.

La rondine è volata alta/\*alto. f.s. unmk.

'The swallow flew high.'

In noncomposite tenses, agreement is optional:

(18) b. Maria corre svelta/svelto. unmk.

La rondine vola alta/alto. 'Mary runs fast.'

'The swallow flies high.' t.s. unmk

the subject. tense; (18a) has the auxiliary essere 'be'; and in (18a) the past participle : There are three factors that distinguish (18a) from (18b): (18a) has a

many Italians they may take either avere or essere. 18 Thus in (19) we see these significant in itself. All Italian verbs in composite tenses take either the aux with avere, while in (18a) they appear with essere 'be' or the auxiliary avere 'have'. Correre 'run' and volare 'fly' are unusual We can easily see that the first factor, that (18a) has a composite to

Note that whenever there is a reflexive clitic, the auxiliary is essere:

 $\Xi$ Maria si è svegliata presto

'Mary woke up early.' Mary herself woke up carly

Past participles do not agree with the subject when the auxiliary is avere 'have'

Œ Maria ha camminato oggi

'Mary walked today.'

 Past participles agree with accusative clitic pronouns (optionally if the pronoun is first or: for some people, obligatorily if the pronoun is third person for all people) regardless of the auxili (¥

Maria li ha comprati. m.p. m.p.

3 'Mary bought them.' Maria se li è comprati.

Mary bought them for herself.

The auxiliary is awar 'have' in (iv), but essere 'be' (because of the reflexive clitic se) in (v). The easiest way to account for (v) is to let rule  $\iota$  apply first. Then rule 2 applies, wiping out

agreement if the structural description of rule 2 is met,

18 There is a slight meaning difference between these verbs with auers and these same vert

However, this difference does not concern us here since nothing hinges upon (19)'s being semantical to (18a).

(19) La rondine ha volato \*alta/alto Maria ha corso \*svelta/svelto. 'The swallow flew high.' 'Mary ran fast.'

Since (19) has a composite tense but does not have obligatory agreement of the A, we see that the composite tense in (18a) is irrelevant to the gender/number agreement

itself. Consider (20): The second factor, that (18a) has the auxiliary essere, is also not significant in

(20)Maria si è recitata svelta/\*svelto i racconti 'Mary recited the stories to herself fast.' unmk.

essere. For example, in (20) si is a clitic reflexive pronoun, and therefore the auxiliary i racconti is cliticized, svelto cannot agree: essere is used. In (20) we see that svelte must agree, However, if the accusative object Whenever there is a clitic reflexive pronoun on the auxiliary, that auxiliary must be

Maria se li è recitati \*svelta/svelto. 'Mary recited them to herself fast.' m.p. m.p. unmk.

agreement in (18a) and (20). Since essere is still the auxiliary in (21), it must not be the relevant factor causing

gardless of the auxiliary, the past participle agrees with that accusative clitic. clitic, the past participle agrees with the subject. If there is an accusative clitic, recrucial factor. Note that whenever the auxiliary is essere and there is no accusative The third factor, that (18a) has a past participle agreeing with the subject, is the

past participle. We can easily see that this proposal fails. One might propose that in (18a) swelto is agreeing not with the NP, but with the

(22) Maria li ha 'Mary recited them fast.' 'Mary recited them to herself fast.' Maria se li è m.p. m.p. recitati \*svelta/svelto/\*svelti. m.p. m.p. recitati \*svelta/svelto/\*svelti ÷ unmk. m.p. unmk. m.p.

In (22) the past participle agrees with the masculine plural accusative clitic h. However, suelto receives the unmarked ending only.

<sup>19</sup> Note that svella is out in (19), because the structural description for G/N svello is not met, since two verbs intervene between Maria and svell- and between la routine and all-. As I mentioned above, another possible account for lack of agreement here will be given in footnote 22 below.

past participle has the same gender/number as svello's subject. This proposal One might propose that in (18a) svelto agrees with the past participle o

Maria l(a) 'ha recitata \*svelta/svelto. 'Mary recited it (f.s.) fast.'

not "stupid"; it is not fooled by the appearance of agreement. Maria is also feminine singular. However, svelto must be unmarked. Thus tl In (23) the past participle is agreeing with the feminine singular accusative

past participle agrees with that same NP, and not that svelto is agreeing with participle. We must conclude that svelto agrees with its controller NP in (18a) be

Svelto obligatorily agrees in (24), as well:

(24) Maria parla piena di rimorsi ma svelta/\*svelto. 'Mary speaks full of remorse but fast.'

Contrast (24) to (1), presented again here for convenience

(1) Maria parla svelta/svelto

Clearly the factor present in (24) that is not present in (1) is the adjective

svelto with no effect. Contrast (25) and (26) below to (17) above.20 svelto (see (12)). For example, auxiliaries and verbs may intervene between agreement phenomena do not observe the environment conditions noted NP that is to trigger agreement on svelto (its controller), then svelto also agree In fact, we find that whenever a past participle or an adjective agrees

- (25)Agreement in the presence of agreeing participle:
- Maria è sembrata potere parlare svelta/\*svelto.

'Mary seemed to be able to speak fast.'

Ò, Maria è dovuta correre svelta/\*svelto. unink.

Maria è pregata di parlare svelta/\*svelto. 'Mary had to run fast.'

ç 'Mary is begged to speak fast.' unmk.

٩ L(a) 'ho fatta parlare svelta/\*svelto. 'I made her speak fast.' ÷.

<sup>20</sup> For a brief discussion of the choice of auxiliaries with the modals poters and dovers, see Nap

(26)Agreement in the presence of agreeing adjective:
Maria ha dovuto parlare piena di rimorsi ma svelta/\*svelto.

'Mary had to speak full of remorse but fast.'

Thus, the phenomenon causing the agreement here must not be cyclic. accusative l(a) on the auxiliary that causes the past participle to agree in this sentence. agreement here must occur after Clitic Placement, since it is the placement of the is optional while these phenomena occur obligatorily. As (25d) shows, the obligatory G/N swelto both in the environment for the agreement and in the fact that G/N swelto phenomena of agreement seen in (25) and (26) differ from agreement produced by the result of G/N svelta. But agreement is not blocked; rather, it is obligatory. Thus the its controller other than svelto's verb, would block agreement if agreement here were In (25) and (26) the italicized elements, being verbs intervening between svelto and

obligatory agreement of svelto. Before I state that principle, let me define some terms. 3.2.2. Sympathetic Agreement. There is one principle that accounts for all cases of

cannot be written as one environment. That is, there is more than one G/N agreement environment), the rule applies. The proper environment for G/N agreement rules adjectives, past and passive participles, and As are targets for G/N agreement rules. 21 ciples, and As. That is, NPs and pronouns are triggers for G/N agreement rules; gender/number agreement provided that the ADJ modifies the NP. Third person rule. For example, NP and ADJ in the same S form an obligatory environment for when an NP or pronoun and an adjective, past participle, or A are in the proper When the structural description of a gender/number agreement rule is met (that is, number agreement, which involves a certain structural configuration as well as the configuration. In (12), our G/N swelto rule, we see an optional environment for gender/ in no way depends on a modifying relationship but applies to a certain structuraaccusative clitic and following past participle is another obligatory environment that notion of controller. G/N agreement takes place between NPs or pronouns and adjectives, past parti-

gender/number trigger. This principle governing G/N rules is given in (27): will appear on every gender/number target adjective, past participle, or A of the given to the principle described below. Once a gender/number rule applies, then agreement Which environment allows gender/number agreement to take place is irrelevant

### (27) Sympathetic Agreement

target, then all of the trigger's targets must undergo agreement. If an agreement trigger NP or pronoun triggers agreement on an a

italics. G/N targets which, together with their triggers, create an optional env on svalto presented here. In the four examples below, G/N targets which, toge for gender/number agreement are in small capitals. their triggers, create an obligatory environment for gender/number agreeme This principle accounts for all of the obligatory cases of gender/number a

Consider first (18a):

(18) a. Maria è corsa svelta/\*sveltc 'Mary ran fast.'

number agreement applies. Now, by Sympathetic Agreement the target st The target that must undergo agreement is the past participle cors-. Thus In (18a) we find an obligatory environment for agreement. The trigger NP also receive agreement.

Next consider (24):

(24) Maria parla piena di rimorsi ma svelta/\*svelto 'Mary speaks full of remorse but fast.

gender/number agreement applies. Again, by Sympathetic Agreement, the trigger NP is Maria; the target that must receive agreement is the adjective hi swelt- must also receive agreement. In (24) we again find an obligatory environment for gender/number agreem

Third, consider (18b):

(18) b. Maria corre svelta/svelto 'Mary runs fast.'

we get svelta. is Maria; the target is svelt-. If agreement does not apply, we get svelte; if it do In (18b) an optional environment for gender/number agreement appears. The

Finally, there is (19):

(61)Maria ha corso \*svelta/svelto.

'Mary ran fast.'

of the presence of the auxiliary verb ha 'has'. 22 optional gender/number environment for G/N svelto in (12) is not met in (19) In (19) no environment for gender/number agreement presents itself. Notice

such as (i) blocks agreement. 22 In section 3.7.4 above and again here I claim that the presence of the auxiliary verb avere

Ξ Maria ha parlato \*svelta/svelto

'Mary spoke fast.'

If this is true, the auxiliary verb is behaving just like any other main verb.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> I am not offering a structural definition of the trigger/barget relationship, because I do not know of any such definition. For advectives the trigger is the same as the controller (as defined in section 3.1.3 above). However, past participles undergo agreement with preceding accusative clitics but these clitics are not controllers of the participles. Likewise, it would be difficult to argue that certain pre- and postnominal adjectives are controlled by the noun they agree with. The term larget is used here to refer to an element that undergoes agreement. The term larger is reserved for those elements that the targets agree with. I have no explanation for why certain the term larger is reserved. elements are targets or triggers and others are not

Now consider (28):

28) La bella donna parla svelta/svelto.
 f.s. f.s f.s unmk.
 'The pretty woman speaks fast.'

Bella is an adjective, obligatorily agreeing with doma. Yet we have optional agreement on svelto. This is because the trigger for svelto is not doma but the whole NP la bella doma. Only in the presence of some target outside of the trigger NP in an obligatory environment for gender/number agreement will svelto also obligatorily agree. This same explanation holds for (29) as well:<sup>23</sup>

(29) La donna che è appena entrata parla svelta/svelto.
f.s. f.s. unmk.

"The woman who just entered speaks fast."

In (29) the trigger NP for svelto is la donna che è appena entrata and not merely donna. Thus the presence of the G/N target entrata does not affect agreement of svelto.

3.2.3. Independent Motivation for Sympathetic Agreement. As I have stated above, there is evidence independent of svėlio that Sympathetic Agreement is needed in Italian. Consider (30):

(30) Li ho visti/\*visto.
m.p. m.p. unmk.
'I saw them.'

The clitic accusative pronoun h is third person masculine plural. All third person accusative clitics call for obligatory agreement on the following past participle. However, in (31) the situation is different:

(31) Vi ho visti/visto.
m.p. m.p. unmk.
'I saw you (plural).'

Vi is an accusative clitic, second person masculine plural.<sup>24</sup> For many (most first and second person accusative clitics call for optional agreement of th past participle. That is, past participles are targets for the trigger clitics. T such speakers is exemplified in (31). For other Italians, first and second per tive clitics call for obligatory past participle agreement; and for still oth first and second person accusative clitics never call for agreement of the past

In the presence of an adjective that agrees with the accusative clitic, t of (31) will produce (32):

32) Vi ho visti/?visto nudi

m.p. m.p. unmk. m.p. 'I saw you nude.'

Nudi in (32) is an adjective modifying vi. As an adjective it must undergo with what it modifies. Thus nudi (m.p.) is the only possible choice in (32) (unmk.) or any other form). Where there was a free choice of agreement in is now a strong preference for agreement in (32) <sup>25</sup>. The presence of the element nudi has affected the past participle agreement. Sympathetic accounts for this preference by claiming that vi and nud-together create an environment for G/N agreement. Thus G/N agreement must appear on al vi. Since visi- is a target of the clitic vi, visi- also receives agreement.

Given Sympathetic Agreement, the preference in (32) is explained i way obligatory agreement of svelto is explained. Without this principle two identical facts would not be handled by the same principle. Thus (27) generalization of the grammar.

One final point to note with regard to (27) is that in (32) the nonagreei visto receives an acceptability rating of?, while in (18a) the nonagreei suelto receives a \*:

- (32) Vi ho visti/?visto nudi.
  'I saw you nude.'
- (18) a. Maria è corsa svelta/\*svelto.'Mary ran fast.'

This is not evidence that (32) and (18a) exemplify different phenomena Consider (33) and (34):

Another alternative (pointed out to me by one of my anonymous readers) is that there is a kind of corollary to Sympathetic Agreement, which says that wello cannot agree if there is a nonagreeing past participle in the way. This alternative runs into the difficulty that it will have to rank Sympathetic Agreement and its corollary as to relative strength, with Sympathetic Agreement obviously winning in (ii):

Maria ha parlato piena di rimorsi ma svelta/\*svelto.
 'Mary spoke full of remorse but fast.'

This alternative, since it requires a ranking, is less preferable. Thus, unless someone can produce evidence to the contrary, I will treat auxiliaries just as any other verb with respect to the agreement phenomena discussed in this article.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> In (29) there are at least two applications of G/N agreement rules. One makes the target entral-agree with its trigger la dona. The other optionally makes the target setle-agree with its trigger la dona cité è dépend antala. If G/N agreement of past participles is a cyclic rule, then (29) presents no problems. But if G/N agreement of past participles is not a cyclic rule, then in (29) we see a violation of Chomselvy's (1973) strict cyclicity condition, since G/N agreement of the past participle is applying to elements all of which are dominated by one cyclic node whose cycle has already been passed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> In (31) *vi* is masculine plural. If *vi* were feminine, it would have the same phonetic sha <sup>26</sup> Of course, those speakers who always made agreement in (31) still do so in (32), and th let *viito* agree in (31) still do not let it agree in (32).

- (33)Maria parla svelta/?svelto ma piena di rimorsi. 'Mary speaks fast but full of remorse.'
- (34)Maria parla piena di rimorsi ma svelta/\*svelto. 'Mary speaks full of remorse but fast.' unmk.

is to the right of vist, while in (18a) corsa is to the left of svelt. Thus we expect nontotally rejected. Right to left is a less strong influence than left to right. In (32) nudi is questionable, while in (34), where the adjective falls to the left of swilt, swelto is ceptable. That is exactly the case. agreement in (32) to be questionable, while nonagreement in (18a) should be unacpiena di rimorsi. However, in (33), where the adjective falls to the right of svell-, svelto In (33) and (34) we see agreement of sull- in the presence of the adjectival phrase

Agreement, or whether this is another principle of Italian, is not clear to me. Whether this influencing factor of left over right should be built into Sympathetic

stated that there are at least three separate G/N agreement rules. One of them 3.2.4. The Necessity and the Global Nature of Sympathetic Agreement. I have already swelts. The environments for all these rules are distinct and cannot be collapsed into and following past participles; we may call this Clitic Past Participle Agreement ADJs that modify them. Another accounts for agreement between accusative clitics one environment with any formalism known to me. Thus we have three distinct rules (CLPP). And a third accounts for agreement of As such as svelte. This is our G/N (Predicate Attribute Agreement, or PA) accounts for agreement between NPs and

ment. The two targets I discussed that optionally receive agreement in most sentences are As, such as swell- in (1) and past participles following nonthird person accusative target that usually optionally receives agreement, instead obligatorily receives agreeclitics, such as vist- in (31): Sympathetic Agreement, stated in (27), accounts for instances in which a G/N

- Maria parla svelta/svelto.
- 'Mary speaks fast.
- Vi ho visti/visto. 'I saw you (plural).'

agreement. This is exemplified below, where the obligatory G/N targets are in italics: (in (1) the trigger is Maria; in (31) the trigger is vi) the optional target must receive We saw that in the presence of some obligatory G/N target of the same G/N trigger

Maria parla svelta/?svelto ma piena di rimorsi.

'Mary speaks fast but full of remorse.

(34) Maria parla piena di rimorsi ma svelta/\*svelto. unmk.

'Mary speaks full of remorse but fast.'

(18) a. Maria è corsa svelta/\*svelto.

'Mary ran fast.' unmk.

(32) Vi ho visti/?visto nudi. 'I saw you nude.' m.p. m.p. unmk. m.p.

The alternative to having a principle such as (27) is to have separate ac each interaction of G/N rules. It is useful to see what these accounts would First, let us once again consider (31) and (32):

- (31)Vi ho visti/visto.
- 'I saw you.'
- (32) Vi ho visti/?visto nudi 'I saw you nude.

environment is met with the same G/N trigger that operated in the application From these examples, we see that if PA applies, then CLPP obligatorily ap Thus we require the extrinsic ordering of these two rules to be:

(35)CLPP

Then we require a condition on CLPP saying it is obligatory if there is an at the vicinity <sup>20</sup> that has agreed with the same trigger. This condition in itsel PA. That is, not just any application of PA will do. For example, consider in that CLPP must be able to identify the trigger that operated in the app

(36)Le ragazze vi hanno ascoltati/ascoltato incredule. unmk.

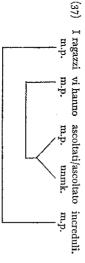
'The girls listened to you (m.p.) incredulous (the girls).'

triggers for the two G/N rules in (36), but there is only one trigger for the tw ment with vi here. The distinction between (36) and (32) is that there are two which in this case is le ragazze. But CLPP only optionally applies to assoltate In (36) the adjective incredul- obligatorily undergoes agreement with the NP is

since the feminine plural ending on incredule tells us that it did not have the (which is masculine plural). This explanation will not do, however, for One might wish to say that there is no need to know the trigger of P.

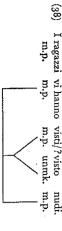
necessary if we have Sympathetic Agreement. These rer tory G/N suella and Subject Past Participle Agreement.  $^{29}$  I will not elaborate here as to what "in the vicinity" means, since I will show this corssary if we have Sympathetic Agreement. These remarks hold as well for the following discussions.

sentences in which there may be two separate triggers that have the same gender and number. For example:



'The boys listened to you (m.p.) incredulous (the boys).'

In (37) CLPP is optional because increduli (m.p.) is agreeing with i ragazzi, not with vi. But in (38) CLPP is much preferred on vist- because nudi (m.p.) agrees with vi here, and not with i ragazzi.



'The boys saw you nude (you).'

(37) and (38) show that the G/N marking on the adjective is not enough alone to tell CLPP whether it must apply. CLPP must be able to identify the trigger of that adjective. Thus it needs to have access to information that was present at the point at which PA applied, regardless of whether this information is present after the application of PA. In this way, the condition on CLPP is a global one.

Now, let us consider (1), (33), and (34).

(1) Maria parla svelta/svelto.

'Mary speaks fast.'

(3) Maria parla svelta/?svelto ma piena di rimorsi f.s. unmk. f.s.

'Mary speaks fast but full of remorse.'

(34) Maria parla piena di rimorsi ma svelta/\*svelto. f.s. f.s. unmk.

'Mary speaks full of remorse but fast.'

Here we see that if PA applies, then swello obligatorily receives agreement as long as the trigger for both targets (for the adjective pien- and for swell-) is the same. I have already pointed out that the rule G/N swello cannot account for obligatory agreement

of soils, since the environment for G/N svelts is sensitive to which elements interbetween the trigger and the target (cf. (12) through (17)), but obligatory agrees on svelts does not observe this same environment (cf. (25) and (26)). Thus obliga agreement on svelts, if it is not handled by some general principle such as (27) handled by a distinct G/N rule, which we may call Obligatory G/N Svelts. I again we require extrinsic ordering of the two rules:

### (39) PA

Obligatory G/N svelta

The environment for Obligatory G/N svelto (or perhaps a condition on it) is the applies in the vicinity of an adjective that has agreed with the same trigger. (as with CLPP above, it is easy to show that applications of PA involving some separtrigger do not affect Obligatory G/N svelto.) We can see that this rule is again a gle one. That is, the trigger of PA must be known to the later rule of Obligatory (svelto.)

Finally, let us again consider (1) and (18a).

- (I) Maria parla svclta/svelto.
- 'Mary speaks fast.'
- (18) a. Maria è corsa svelta/\*svelto.
  'Mary ran fașt.'

Let us call the rule accounting for agreement of the past participle and the subjec (18a) Subject Past Participle Agreement (SPP) (see footnote 17 for a description this rule). We can see from these two examples that if SPP applies, then swello oblitorily receives agreement as long as the trigger for both targets (for the past participand for swello) is the same. Since we observe obligatory agreement of swello in (18 we may assume the rule accounting for this agreement is Obligatory G/N swello, j for simplicity's sake. Now we require the extrinsic ordering (40):

#### (40) SPP

Obligatory G/N svelto

The environment for Obligatory G/N svelto (or perhaps a condition on it) is tha applies not only in the vicinity of an adjective (as shown above) but also in the vicin of a past participle that has agreed with the same trigger. Again this second environment is that of a global rule, in that the trigger of the earlier rule, SPP, must be kno to the later rule, Obligatory G/N svelto.

We have seen that without principle (27) we need three extrinsic orders statements ((35), (39), and (40)), we need to include the rule Obligatory G/N sw in the grammar of Italian, and we need three global devices: a global condition CLPP, a global statement of (or condition on) Obligatory G/N swello, and a seco distinct global statement of (or condition on) Obligatory G/N swello. If, instead,

Sympathetic Agreement is the proper characterization of the phenomena described and for the three separate global phenomena. For these reasons, I conclude that need for the above extrinsic ordering statements, for the rule Obligatory G/N suella, accept Sympathetic Agreement as stated in (27), this one principle does away with the throughout section 3.2.

environment factors. Thus this principle applies throughout the derivation ensures that agreement will apply to every target of that trigger regardless of other for obligatory G/N agreement between a given trigger and a target, then this principle triggers and targets of various G/N agreement rules. If the environment has been met by any one of a number of different agreement rules. That is, it takes into account all, it is global in that it makes use of the notion of svelto's G/N trigger, which is precisely swelle's controller. Second, it is not an independent rule, but rather an effect triggered Sympathetic Agreement itself is a global principle in at least two ways. First of

## 3.3. Summary of the Arguments

subjects rule out such agreement. The crucial evidence against cyclicity was given in for by a cyclic rule, since subject to subject Raising and Equi NP Deletion between We have seen that optional gender/number agreement on swillo cannot be accounted

cyclic subject of svelto, or, in the case that svelto's cyclic subject has been deleted, which destroyed in the derivation. Specifically, the rule needs to know which NP was the postcyclically without access to earlier structural information that may well have been applying postcyclically. was crucial to agreement, as shown in (10) and (11). Thus G/N swelto is a global rule which NP controlled that deletion, and so on. The NP that svelto ultimately agrees with was called svelto's controller. The position of svelto's controller in the postcycle NP controlled deletion of swello's subject, or, in the case that this NP has been deleted, Then we found that the optional gender/number agreement rule could not apply

examples like (25) and (26) as well as (30) and (32). The principle is global in two ensures that if any agreement target of a given trigger undergoes agreement, then all pendently needed (cf. (30) and (32)) principle of Sympathetic Agreement, which ture to which each agreement rule in the derivation applies. is a principle that applies throughout an entire derivation and has access to the strucways. First, it makes use of the notion of svello's controller, a global notion. Second, it the targets of that trigger will undergo agreement. This principle accounted for Obligatory gender/number agreement on suelts was accounted for by an inde-

pathetic Agreement is global in a second way, as well, in that it must identify the G/N swelto as well as by the principle of Sympathetic Agreement. However, Symtriggers and targets of each gender/number agreement rule that takes place in a given Thus we have one global notion, that of "controller", which is used by the rule

### 4. Conclusion

of formalism best expresses global devices are questions that remain to be a syntax. Whether global devices are limited to agreement phenomena and devices; thus, global devices must be included in an adequate theory of At this point, I wish to conclude only that the Italian data in this article cal

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